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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

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it, but when profits are plentiful from conventional technologies?

Can outdated, burdensome economic regulations be reduced without sacrificing necessary regulatory protection for public health and safety?

Can massive capital be accumulated to rebuild older cities and restore our national infrastructure, particularly our transportation systems, and provide jobs for the structurally unemployed?

These complex questions must be addressed over the next two decades within the context of the national agenda suggested above. But aside from their basic economic character, these issues are noteworthy for their resistance to traditional ideological orthodoxy. The profound differences between Republican and Democratic philosophy and principles remain. And so they should. But the world and its problems change, and outmoded programs and dogmas must give way if answers are to be found.

The Democratic Party offers the best chance for consensus—through economic opportunity and social equity—and thus the best chance for resolution of the economic agenda. And that consensus can be extended to defense and foreign policy, as well as energy development and resource management.

Kant said: "A democracy . . . is the most complex of all the forms of state, for it has to begin by uniting the will of all so as to form a people; and then it has to appoint a sovereign over this common union, which sovereign is no other than the united will itself."

It is complex to unite the American will. But the Democrats of the future must do it and, once it is done, our national will is invincible.

FOREIGN SERVICE ACT OF 1980

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, on behalf of Mr. CHURCH, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on H.R. 6790.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives announcing its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 6790) to promote the foreign policy of the United States by strengthening and improving the Foreign Service of the United States, and for other purposes, and requesting a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. On behalf of Mr. CHURCH, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendment and agree to the request of the House for a conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses

thereon, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

Mr. STEVENS. There is no objection.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. CHURCH, Mr. PELL, Mr. BIDEN, Mr. TSONGAS, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. PERCY, and Mr. HELMS conferees on the part of the Senate.

RECESS UNTIL 9:45 A.M.
TOMORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move that the Senate stand in recess until 9:45 tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and at 7:59 p.m. the Senate recessed until tomorrow, Wednesday, September 24, 1980, at 9:45 a.m.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate September 23, 1980:

ADMINISTRATIVE CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED STATES

Reuben B. Robertson, of the District of Columbia, to be Chairman of the Administrative Conference of the United States for a term of 5 years.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Brian P. Joffrion, of Louisiana, to be U.S. marshal for the western district of Louisiana for the term of 4 years.

Harry Alan Scarr, of Virginia, to be Director of the Bureau of Justice Statistics.

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Blandina Cárdenas Ramirez, of Texas, to be a Member of the Commission on Civil Rights.

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

The following-named persons to be Members of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation, for terms expiring May 10, 1986:

Mary Lowe Good, of Louisiana.

Peter T. Flawn, of Texas.

Peter David Lax, of New York.

Homer A. Neal, of Indiana.

Mary Jane Osborn, of Connecticut.

Donald B. Rice, of California.

Stuart A. Rice, of Illinois.

John Brooks Slaughter, of Washington, to be Director of the National Science Foundation for a term of 6 years.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON THE HUMANITIES

The following-named persons to be Members of the National Council on the Humanities for terms expiring January 26, 1986:

Marcus Cohn, of Maryland.

Samuel DoBois Cook, of Louisiana.

Roland Paul Dille, of Minnesota.

A. Bartlett Giamatti, of Connecticut.

George Alexander Kennedy, of North Carolina.

Louise Ano Nuevo Kerr, of Illinois.

Frances Dodson Rhome, of Indiana.

Philip Aaron Schaefer, of California.

Anita Silvers, of California.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON THE ARTS

The following-named persons to be Members of the National Council on the Arts for terms expiring September 3, 1986:

Kurt Herbert Adler, of California.

Margo Albert, of California.

Robert Joffrey, of New York.

Toni Morrison, of New York.

Teoh Ming Pei, of New York.

Lida Rogers, of Mississippi.

Erich Leinsdorf, of Massachusetts, to be a Member of the National Council on the Arts for the term expiring September 3, 1986.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LIBRARIES AND INFORMATION SCIENCE

The following-named persons to be Members of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for terms expiring July 19, 1985:

Charles William Benton, of Illinois.

Gordon M. Ambach, of New York.

Paulette H. Holahan, of Louisiana.

NATIONAL CONSUMER COOPERATIVE BANK

Wayman D. Palmer, of Ohio, to be Director of the Office of Self-Help Development and Technical Assistance, National Consumer Cooperative Bank.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON THE HUMANITIES

Marian B. Javits, of New York, to be a Member of the National Council on the Humanities for the remainder of the term expiring January 26, 1982.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON THE HANDICAPPED

Odessa Komer, of Michigan, to be a Member of the National Council on the Handicapped for a term of 1 year.

The above nominations were approved subject to the nominees' commitments to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.

UNIFORMED SERVICES UNIVERSITY OF THE HEALTH SCIENCES

The following-named persons to be Members of the Board of Regents of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences for the terms indicated:

For terms expiring June 20, 1983:

Robert Higgins Ebert, of New York.

Eugene M. Farber, of California.

For terms expiring June 20, 1985:

Lauro F. Cavazos, of Texas.

Caro Elise Luhrs, of the District of Columbia.

William R. Roy, of Kansas.

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Margo Albert, of California, to be a member of the National Council on the Arts.

Robert Joffrey, of New York, to be a member of the National Council on the Arts.

Toni Morrison, of New York, to be a member of the National Council on the Arts.

Josh Ming Pei, of New York, to be a member of the National Council on the Arts.

Lida Rogers, of Mississippi, to be a member of the National Council on the Arts.

Erich Leinsdorf, of Massachusetts, to be a member of the National Council on the Arts.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LIBRARIES AND INFORMATION SCIENCE

Charles William Benton, of Illinois, to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science.

Gordon M. Ambach, of New York, to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science.

Paulettes H. Holahan, of Louisiana, to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science.

UNIFORMED SERVICES UNIVERSITY OF THE HEALTH SCIENCES

Robert Higgins Ebert, of New York, to be a member of the Board of Regents of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences.

Eugene M. Farber, of California, to be a member of the Board of Regents of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences.

Lauro P. Cavazos, of Texas, to be a member of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences.

Caro Elise Luhrs, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Board of Regents of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences.

William B. Roy, of Kansas, to be a member of the Board of Regents of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences.

NATIONAL CONSUMER COOPERATIVE BANK

Weyman D. Palmer, of Ohio, to be Director of the Office of Self-Help Development and Technical Assistance, National Consumer Cooperative Bank.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON THE HUMANITIES

Marian B. Javits, of New York, to be a member of the National Council on the Humanities.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON THE HANDICAPPED

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LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, ask unanimous consent that the Senate return to legislative session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FUTURE DEMOCRATIC GOALS

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, the distinguished national columnist, David Broder, has recently observed that this election year will mark the emergence of a new generation of national leaders. These men and women, who will assume the mantle of leadership by the end of this decade, were born in the post-Depression era and achieved adulthood during the 1960's—an era of incalculable social tumult and change. The ideas and actions of this new generation will shape

the future of America as we move toward the 21st century and beyond.

The distinguished senior Senator from Colorado, GARY HART, has already compiled a record of significant achievement. He has been an articulate advocate of the interests of the Nation and of the State of Colorado. He has tackled a broad range of national issues—including defense policy, Federal spending, energy development and environmental protection, offering a host of creative and constructive initiatives. He has sought a fresh approach to American politics, one that will provide answers to today's problems.

In today's Washington Post, Senator HART offers his prescription for the Democratic Party of the future. He offers some constructive suggestions for ordering our national priorities which I commend to all my colleagues. With young leaders such as GARY HART I am assured that the future of the Democratic Party and the Nation are in safe hands.

I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "Democrats: A New Path to Old Goals" be inserted in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 23, 1980]

DEMOCRATS: A NEW PATH TO OLD GOALS (By Gary Hart)

In 1832, addressing the emerging factionalism in America, President Andrew Jackson said: "It is time to pause in our career to review our principles" and "revive that devoted patriotism and spirit of compromise" that distinguished the revolutionary founders.

The same imperative applies today.

The major political parties are dormant because they have so few new ideas and because changing conditions have made the historic quarrels between them largely irrelevant. The Democratic Party thus has an extraordinary opportunity to produce fresh ideas. But it must root new economic concepts—designed to fulfill a compassionate, unfinished social agenda—in the market rather than the bureaucracy. And it must reclaim responsibility for reform of our military leading to an innovative and more effective national defense.

Those of us who are Democrats believe our historic principles uniquely qualify our party to articulate the national agenda, propose creative and equitable solutions and rekindle the spirit of compromise and consensus around the common good.

Among the Democratic Party's historic principles: the Jeffersonian principle of a free, competitive private economy; the Jacksonian principle of the protection of the individual from the power of concentrated wealth; the Rooseveltian principle of economic stability wed to social conscience. Thus, from the early principles—economic opportunity; from the later principles—economic and social justice.

By reclaiming these principles, the Democratic Party can form a new consensus composed of middle-income people concerned about economic stability and national security, workers who hope for better opportunities for their children, the elderly, the unemployed, minorities and the young.

America's agenda for the 1980s and 1990s is long and varied. But it has a unifying link. Our nation's ability to provide stable prosperity and economic opportunity for its young people, to ensure the national secu-

rity, to promote our interest and those of our allies abroad and to achieve social justice—all depend on the health of our economy. Clearly, the renewal of the Democratic Party must be structured on a new economic keel.

And that, in turn, results from a clear statement of the national economic agenda, an agenda based on the following concepts:

National and personal priorities must be shifted toward production and away from consumption.

Market forces, rather than government allocation formulas, should dictate personal economic choices.

Our definition of "standard of living" should reflect fundamental values such as shelter, nutrition, health, education and employment, not unnecessary luxuries.

The elderly and disadvantaged must be buffered against the shortfalls in a leaner society, not through government handouts but, for example, by non-bureaucratic instruments such as "lifeline" utility rates.

Our commitment to racial justice must be restored—specifically through employment—by creating incentives for minority job training in private industry and by making new energy projects and urban modernization high-priority minority employment sectors.

Urban rebuilding can be financed by a "21st Century Cities Bank" capitalized by state budget surpluses and public employee pension funds.

Increased domestic energy production must be balanced with health and safety protection through publicly financed pollution control equipment on coal-burning industrial facilities, increased safety measures on a nuclear plants and impact assistance to communities producing synthetic fuels.

Social goals, such as moderate wage and price increases and legitimate environmental standards, should be induced, where possible, through economic incentives rather than rigid, complex regulations.

Workers should be encouraged to share in the ownership of production facilities through employee stock ownership plans or similar proposals.

These illustrative ideas suggest a new consensus can be formed if we pursue historic Democratic goals—economic opportunities for the young and the unemployed, social justice for the disadvantaged, restoration of fundamental social goals and values, growth and equity—achieved not through programmatic solutions that Democrats reflexively propose, but through the natural mechanisms of the marketplace.

And consensus—Jackson's "spirit of compromise"—will be necessary, for difficult economic questions, testing the political implementation of these goals, are taking shape on the horizon.

Should U.S. industries be both subsidized and permitted to become more concentrated to encourage competition with foreign counterparts—when both trends frustrate a true domestic free market economy?

Given that the tools for capital formation are well known and relatively simple (e.g., tax incentives for investment, accelerated depreciation), how should we choose which industries to stimulate or "reindustrialize"?

How do we achieve regionally balanced growth, in a nation of a half-dozen or more disparate regional economies?

Can the tax system—the benchmark of a just society—be made simple, just and equitable, at a time when it represents the most effective alternative set of fiscal tools to the traditional bureaucratic-programmatic approach to achieving social and economic goals?

Can private industry be induced to undertake risk—as in the production of synthetic fuels and renewable energy—when public policy (and perhaps national security) requires